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PREJUDICE AGAINST BLACK AMERICANS VERSUS BLACK AFRICANS IN
COLLEGE ADMISSION

A Thesis Presented

by

Asia McCleary-Gaddy

to

The Faculty of the Graduate College

of

The University of Vermont

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
Specializing in Psychological Science

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Thesis Examination Committee:

Carol T. Miller, PhD, Advisor
Kelly Clark-Keefe, Ed.D., Chairperson
Sylvia P. Perry, Ph.D.
Cynthia J. Forehand, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate College

ABSTRACT

Three studies examined prejudice as an explanation for the overrepresentation of Black Africans and the under-representation of native-born Black Americans in Ivy League institutions. I hypothesized admission officers may use Black Africans as a “cover” for their prejudice against Black American natives. The admission of more Black Africans may allow admission officers to express their prejudice toward Black American natives while maintaining an egalitarian image. In Study 1, although the Black African applicant was evaluated as more likable, competent, and had a greater chance of being admitted than the Black American native applicant, differences were only significant when compared with the White American applicant. In Study 2, the Black American native applicant was significantly less likely to be admitted when being directly compared to a Black African applicant (versus a White American applicant). Study 3, tested the boundary effects of Study 2 by exposing participants to an Affirmative Action statement. Similar to Study 2, the target Black American native applicant was significantly less likely to be admitted when in direct comparison with a Black African applicant. In Studies 1 and 3, levels of internal motivation and/or levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice significantly moderated the relationship between ethnicity and decision to admit. Furthermore, findings indicated that the decision to admit the target Black American native versus the competitor was dependent on perceptions of SES. Collectively, these studies offer evidence that the admittance of Black African applicants may provide a cover for discrimination against Black American natives. These results suggest that ethnicity, in addition to race, may affect the educational opportunities of minority group members.

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Prejudice against Black American Natives versus Black Africans in College

Admission

In May of 2014, CNN news stations announced that eight Ivy League colleges in the United States had accepted an African-American high school student, Kwasi Enin for admission. Enin's credentials were strong; however, media coverage attributed his success to his status as a first generation immigrant from Ghana. Katherine Cohen, an executive with Ivy Wise, a company that provides educational consulting to elite educational institutions stated, "He's not a typical African-American kid." This type of sentiment seems consistent with recent enrollment data suggesting Black immigrants are better represented at elite academic institutions than native Black Americans. According to the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshman, first and second generation African/ Caribbean immigrants make up only 13% of the nation's college-age Black population, but account for more than a quarter of Black students at Ivy League and other selective colleges and universities. Massey, Mooney, Torres, and Charles (2007) used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshman to study African immigrants and Black American natives attending selective colleges and universities in the United States. Results showed that first generation Black Africans and Black American natives are similar on key predictors of college preparation including socioeconomic status, social preparation, psychological readiness, and academic training. This raises the possibility that unconscious bias, or prejudice toward Black American natives, may account for the disproportionate representation of Black Africans at elite institutions.

The current study empirically investigated prejudice as an explanation for the overrepresentation of Black Africans and the under-representation of native-born Black Americans in highly competitive institutions of higher learning.

Perceived Advantage of an Ethnic Identity

Black immigrants make up 8 % of the U.S. foreign-born population (Faris, 2012). Between 2000 and 2010 the African-foreign born population in the United States nearly doubled in size (American Immigration Council, 2012). African immigrants have more college education and higher rates of degree attainment than any other immigrant group in the United States, with 43.8% of African immigrants attaining a college degree as compared to 42.5% of Asian immigrants, 28.9% of immigrants from Europe, Russia and Canada, and 23.1% of the U.S population as a whole (Page, 2007).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that second-generation minority immigrants who maintain an immigrant identity perform better in school and achieve higher levels of education than those who adopt an American Black identity. This is consistent with an abundance of literature suggesting that it may be more advantageous for children of Black African immigrants to maintain their ethnic identity rather than to adapt to the cultural norms of their Black American native counterparts (Bennet & Lutz, 2009). Black African immigrants who adopt a Black American native identity are adopting a devalued identity that is associated with a host of negative stereotypes (Ogundipe, 2011). As a result of Blacks being negatively stereotyped, Black Africans may disidentify from mainstream American culture (Steele, 1992). Disidentification with the dominant culture discourages placing a positive value on academic achievement, a value that Blacks perceive as important to the culture that devalues them. Black Africans who maintain

their ethnic identity (e.g., Nigerian, Ethiopian) distance themselves from negative stereotypes about Blacks, and as a result are less likely to disidentify from mainstream cultural values such as the importance of academic achievement.

Although there is evidence that Whites are more comfortable with Black Africans than with native-born Blacks (Waters, 1999), there is still a profound racial hierarchy in the U.S in which Blacks, regardless of ethnicity, occupy positions of disadvantage while Whites occupy positions of power (Sears, 2000; Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). In other words, Black Africans may elicit racial discrimination based on their outward appearance. However, ethnic characteristics (e.g., name, accent) may distinguish them from Black American natives, and therefore Black Africans may be treated differently. Thus, Black Africans occupy a unique position, both in being bounded by positions of disadvantage because they have dark skin, but also individuating themselves from other Blacks in the U.S to reach positions of power (Bennet & Lutz, 2009).

A Stereotype Subtype

Although Black Africans and Black American natives are perceived to be members of the same racial group, stereotypes about their attributes differ sharply. Stereotypes are defined as over-generalized beliefs about a particular group or class of people (Cardewll, 1996; Crocker, Major, Steele, Gilbert, & Fiske, 1998). Judgements about others' identities are made with respect to group-specific, stereotype-based standards based on perceived group membership (Biernat, 2003). For example, Black American natives are stereotyped as having a greater propensity for criminal activity and lower qualification and ability in academic and occupational domains than White

Americans. In contrast, first generation Black Africans are stereotyped as being a hardworking model minority (Capps, McCabe & Fix, 2012).

The different stereotypes about Black Africans and Black American natives involve stereotype subtyping (Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Maurer, Park, & Rothbart, 1995). Subtyping occurs when perceivers respond to members of a stereotyped group who disconfirm the group stereotype by seeing them as exceptions to the rule and placing them in a separate subcategory apart from members who confirm the stereotype (Richards & Hewstone, 2001). For example, men are stereotyped as strong, dominant, and as leaders. However, Black men are stereotyped as athletic, lazy, and as criminals. Furthermore, within the Black American native male stereotype there are additional subtypes such as “ghetto thug,” and “great basketball player,” which do not evoke all the features of the generic Black male stereotype.

Weber-Kollmann (1985) proposed that subtyping occurs when perceivers hold an established stereotype about a group, which they use to encode and process information about group members, but then encounter some group members disconfirm these stereotypes. If the stereotype-disconfirming group members have some attribute or characteristic in common that sets them apart from stereotype-confirming group members, a new stereotype about the disconfirming group members will develop. This definition postulates that White Americans may have a negative stereotype about Black American natives as being lazy, and unintelligent. However, Black Africans disconfirm these stereotypes based on beliefs about their ethnic group membership. An African identity may be used as a meaningful characteristic concentrated among Black African immigrants, which allow Whites to create a subtype or exception from the generic Black

stereotype. Thus, Black individuals who are applying to elite institutions and exhibit African immigrant group identification are subtyped or encoded with a positive academic stereotype instead of the prevailing negative stereotype that Black Americans are academically weak.

One implication of the subtyping model, is that the potential for stereotype change is unlikely. Disconfirming group members are subtyped into a distinct category that detaches them from the superordinate group, thus insulating the stereotype from change (Weber & Crocker, 1983).

Philogene (2001) conducted an experiment in which she explored the attributes associated with the labels Black American and African American in reference to native-born Blacks. Results showed that the term “African American” was associated with more positive impressions and characterizations than the term “Black American.” She also found Americans of African descent are associated with thoughts of integration, equality and assimilation. In contrast, Black American was associated with thoughts of exclusion, failure to adjust and negative status.

Hall, Phillips, & Townsend (2014) found that using the label, “Black” versus “African American,” to refer to native Blacks signaled lower social class and evoked more negative emotional tone. Similarly, an employee described as Black in a business article was perceived as lower in status than one described as African American, and a crime suspect described as Black in a criminal report was perceived more negatively than one described as African American.

Prior research has compared the responses people have to African Americans and Black Americans when these terms are used to refer to native Black Americans. Despite

the importance of these studies, it remains unclear whether the results occurred because the semantic label “African American” has different positive and negative connotations when applied to a native Black individual or because the label, “African American” made people think of an African immigrant. The current research addresses this issue.

A Justification of Prejudice

Modern conceptions of prejudice theorize that it involves dual processes (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Pryor, Reeder, Yeadon, & Hesson-McInnis, 2004). The basic process is genuine prejudice. Genuine prejudice is an implicit negative prejudice that is experienced by virtually all White Americans toward Blacks (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). The second process is the explicit process by which people consciously adopt attitudes toward Blacks that often are more egalitarian than their implicit attitudes are. Aversive racism is one example of a dual process theory of prejudice. Aversive racism is hypothesized to characterize the racial attitudes of many Whites who validate egalitarian values and regard themselves as non-prejudiced, but who have negative feelings and discriminate in subtle, rationalized ways toward historically disadvantaged groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). White Americans strive to maintain socially desirable self-conceptions and social identities, and thus are motivated to restrain their genuine prejudice and create an egalitarian image of a non-prejudiced person. Competition between implicit and explicit processes creates internal conflict and behavioral instability. However, this cognitive and behavioral tension can be relieved through psychological processes.

According to Crandall and Eshleman’s (2003) justification-suppression model, prejudice is restrained by beliefs, values, and norms that suppress it. However,

suppressed prejudice can be expressed when there is a justification to release it. A justification can be any psychological or social process that can be used as an opportunity to express genuine prejudice without suffering external or internal consequences (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). It also allows individuals to release their prejudice without guilt or shame.

Covering is a process of justification in which the underlying prejudice that motivates an emotion, behavior, or cognition is concealed by focusing attention on a plausible alternative motivation that is socially or personally acceptable (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Covering can take several forms, but for purposes of this paper I focus on situational ambiguity. When a discriminatory behavior might be mistaken for an unbiased action, or can masquerade as a more benignly motivated act, then prejudice may be released (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Covering releases internal prejudice by allowing individuals to express prejudice toward the outgroup without the individuals classifying themselves as a “prejudiced people.” It is possible that the preferential admission of Black African applicants over Black American native applicants occurs because it provides a cover for prejudice against Black American natives. White admission officers who are implicitly or explicitly prejudiced toward Black Americans may accept more Black Africans. This provides an opportunity for admission officers to express their prejudice against Black American natives while maintaining an egalitarian image since they did accept a Black-skinned person.

Another form of justification is amassing moral credentials. In moral credentialing, sometimes referred to as legitimacy credits, an individual becomes more willing to express prejudiced attitudes after first establishing credentials as a non-

prejudiced person (Monin & Miller, 2001). Moral credentialing occurs when an individual first performs an explicit egalitarian behavior and subsequently expresses an implicit bias in another action. For example, after participants were given an opportunity to disagree with blatantly sexist statements, later, the same participants were later more willing to favor a man over a woman for a stereotypically male job (Monin & Miller, 2001). Similarly, in a study in which participants were given an opportunity to endorse either Barack Obama (a Black man) or John Kerry (a White man) for president, those who endorsed Obama later evaluated a White job candidate as better suited for the job than a Black candidate compared to those who previously could only endorse Kerry (Effron, Cameron, & Monin, 2009). In these examples, participants were given an opportunity to demonstrate that they were not prejudiced people, which acts as evidence and protects against the negative repercussions of future behaviors that may, in fact, be expressions of prejudice.

White admissions officers at elite institutions may cover for their prejudice toward Black American natives by favoring Black African applicants. The admission of more Black African applicants creates a masquerade, or cover, for not admitting Black American native applicants. White admission officers can maintain an identity as non-prejudiced because they did accept a Black-skinned applicant; however, the cover still allows them to express their prejudice toward Black natives. This may explain the disproportionate number of Black Africans compared to Black American natives in selective institutions of higher education.

Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, and Mentzer (1979) outlined a general strategy for detecting motives that people want to conceal. These researchers hypothesized that

people are motivated to avoid people with disabilities, but are unwilling to overtly avoid them. They tested this hypothesis in one study by setting up a mock movie theater with showings in two large adjacent rooms. Each room had a television monitor and two chairs for seating. Participants were able to clearly see into both rooms. In one room, a confederate with a leg brace and crutches (person with a disability) was seated. In the other room, a confederate without a visible disability was seated. Participants in one condition were told that the same movie would be shown in both rooms, whereas those in the other condition were told that different movies would be shown in each room, and that they could choose which movie they wanted to see. The two types of movies were counterbalanced for each room.

Results showed that when participants thought that the same movie would be shown in both rooms, 58% chose to sit in the room with the confederate who supposedly had a disability. However, only 17% of participants who thought that different movies would be shown in the two rooms sat with the confederate with the disability. Snyder et al. (1979) concluded that these results are evidence of covering for a prejudice against people with disabilities. Participants who had a choice between different movies had a masquerade or cover for avoiding the confederate with the disability. The participants were able to act on the motive to avoid the confederate with the disability because movie preference could provide a socially acceptable motivation for their decision to sit with the confederate without a disability.

In the current study, I tested the covering hypothesis by comparing admissions decisions about a Black American native applicant in conditions in which he is competing with a similarly qualified native Black American native applicant, a Black

African applicant, or a White American applicant. I hypothesized that the Black African applicant provides a cover for racial prejudice. Admission officers that admit a Black African applicant are able to disguise their unwillingness to accept Black American native applicants. Thus, when a Black American native is competing against a Black African they will be less likely to be admitted than when they are competing against a White American applicant.

Covering is predicated upon the assumption that individuals are motivated to be unprejudiced and/or to at least appear to be non-prejudiced. Plant and Devine (1998) argue that people are motivated to respond without prejudice for internal reasons (e.g., “Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept”) and/or for external reasons (e.g., “I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others”). In other words, people are motivated by the self and/or by others to respond without prejudice towards outgroup members.

In a study conducted by Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, and Vance (2002), implicit bias against Blacks, as measured by the Implicit Association Test (IAT), was significantly moderated by internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice. Specifically, participants who were high in internal motivation and low in external motivation showed significantly lower levels of implicit race bias against Blacks than all other participants. Ironically, participants who were high in internal motivation and high in external motivation were more likely to have prejudice-relevant discrepancies on the IAT and showed greater implicit prejudice against Blacks than those who were high in internal motivation and low in external motivation. Participants high in internal motivation and high in external motivation may consciously renounce prejudice

but are less effective at regulating race bias at an unconscious level. The external motivation from social pressure is still needed to suppress prejudice demonstrating that these individuals have not yet reached the stage of being non-prejudiced. This suggests that the source of motivation is a crucial factor in responding without prejudice. Thus, it is possible that internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice may moderate the relationship between applicant-competitor ethnicity and admittance decision in the current study.

Affirmative Action Pressure

In higher education, affirmative action refers to admission policies that provide equal access to education for those groups that have been historically excluded or underrepresented, such as Blacks (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015). Elite institutions consider student-body diversity a high priority (Chan & Eyester, 2003).

Although there is considerable pressure on admission officers to accept more minority students, they may still be biased against some minority groups, especially Black American natives. Consequently, affirmative action pressure may magnify the preference for Black Africans over Black American natives. Thus, it is important to examine whether the preference for Africans is robust when people are considering affirmative action. Choosing to offer admission to a Black African applicant instead of a Black American applicant satisfies the affirmative action demands of the university while at the same time allowing the expression of prejudice toward Black American natives.

The Current Research

The primary purpose of the current research was to examine how Black American native applicants are evaluated in the college admissions process compared to Black

African applicants. I hypothesize that (1) White Americans will be more likely to positively evaluate the application of a Black African applicant than a Black American native applicant, (2) a Black American native applicant will be more likely to be negatively evaluated when his competitor is a Black African applicant rather than another Black American native applicant or White American applicant, and (3) this effect will occur even when participants are reminded about the importance of Affirmative Action. These hypotheses were tested through three separate studies.

Study 1

This study examined prejudice as a possible explanation for the overrepresentation of Black Africans and the under-representation of native born Black American natives in selective higher education institutions. I hypothesized that White Americans would be more likely to admit Black Africans than they are to admit Black American natives despite having identical academic credentials.

Method

Participants

I recruited participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Buhrmester, Kwang & Gosling, 2011; Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013) for the ostensible purpose of evaluating résumé design. I aimed for a total sample size of 250 participants to ensure the design had sufficient statistical power to detect a medium sized (Cohen's $d = .25$) effect when employing the traditional $\alpha = .05$ criterion of statistical significance. Participants were compensated \$0.50 upon study completion.

Participants were screened to ensure that they were paying attention to the experimental materials. This screen involved asking participants mid-way through the

protocol to select the response “disagree” from a list ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree”. Thirty-eight participants (approximately 15.2%) failed the attention check leaving a total of 212 (105 males, 106 females) White American participants. Approximately 40% of participants were between the ages of 25 to 34 years, 20.8% were between the ages of 35 to 44 years, 17.5% were between the ages of 15 to 24 years, 14.6% were between the ages of 45 to 54 years, 5.2% were between the ages of 55 to 64 years, and 1.9% were 65 years and over. Nearly half of the participants (51.5%) had earned a 4-year college degree or more. Thirty-four percent of participants worked in management and professional service.

Design

This study was a between subjects design in which participants evaluated the resumé of a Black American native, Black African, or White American.

Materials

Manipulation of Ethnicity.

The ethnicity of the applicant was manipulated by varying the name of the applicant, who was identified by a stereotypically Black native, Black African, or White name and by the fictitious content concerning family background in the applicant’s personal statement. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003) showed that resumé with stereotypical Black American names (e.g., Jamal , Lakisha) were less likely to receive a call back for a job interview as compared to resumé with stereotypical White American names (e.g., Greg, Ashley). This work indicates that names can signal group membership and elicit underlying prejudice towards that group.

In a pilot study on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, 50 adults indicated the ethnicity of 45 male first and last names. Female names were not used due to difficulty discriminating between male and female African first names. Over 99% of participants identified Bodua and Idogbe as Black African men's first names; Ke'Shawn and Raheem as Black American native men's first names; and Connor and Wyatt as White American men's first names. Nzegwu was identified as a Black African last name, Washington and Jackson as Black American native last names; and Schepers as White American last name.

Each résumé also had an excerpt of an essay that answered the prompt, "Discuss an accomplishment, interest, talent, formal or informal that marked your transition from childhood to adulthood within your culture, community, or family". The essay excerpt associated with the Black African described a visit from the applicant's family, who are from an African country, and the aspects of their culture that they admire (Appendix A). The essay excerpt associated with the Black American native described an essay about a family member who was a musician during the Harlem Renaissance (Appendix A). The excerpt associated with the White American discussed a family tradition of visiting a farm (Appendix A). These excerpts were developed with a pilot study of 12 students in which participants rated the valence of the excerpt, perceived socioeconomic status (SES) of the person described, and the likeability of the person. Essay excerpts equivalent in rating of valence, SES, and likability were kept for use in the main study design.

Three application résumés were fabricated to serve the purposes of this study. The résumés included applicant name, high school, hometown, grade point average (GPA), Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, previous experience, extracurricular activities,

organizations, and awards (Appendix B). The name on the resumé and essay excerpt were the only information manipulated between conditions to represent a Black American native (e.g., Ke'Shawn Washington), Black African (e.g., Bodua Nzegwu), or White American (e.g., Connor Schepers). All other information was relatively similar.

The particular resumé associated with the Black American native, Black African and White American was counterbalanced so that each resumé appeared an approximately equal number of times with each type of name. Participants in each ethnic condition received resumés that identified the applicant's ethnicity with one of two first and last names that people associated with that ethnicity. The two first and last names for each ethnic group were randomly assigned to resumés within that ethnic condition.

Procedure

In an online experiment participants were told they are participating in an experiment about perceptions of resumé design. Participants were randomly assigned to receive an application resumé for a Black American native, Black African, or White American. All participants received the same instructions:

Please imagine yourself as an application evaluator for an Ivy League university in the United States. You will be presented with an application of a prospective undergraduate student for your respective university. It is your job to review and evaluate the application. Please select the name of the Ivy League university you are an evaluator for.

After selecting their respective highly competitive university, participants read the respective essay excerpt and resumé of a student with a Black African, Black American

native, or White American name. After thoroughly reviewing the application, participants completed the measures described below.

Measures.

Impressions of applicants were assessed using 7-point Likert scales (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). High scores indicated more favorable impressions of the applicant. The main dependent variable was participants' ratings of the likelihood that they would admit the applicant ("After your careful evaluation of this student, how likely are you to admit ____ into your school? Please keep in mind that this is a HIGHLY COMPETITIVE university, with close to 30,000-35,000 applications per year. This is equivalent to a 6% - 12% acceptance rate."). Evaluations of liking and competence were used as indicators of participants' justification for their decision about admitting the applicant. Participant's liking of the applicant was assessed with six items; "This student will be easy to get along with", "How much do you like this student", "How unique is this student", "This student would be a perfect "fit" with the university", "This student would be a valuable asset to the school", and "Our school would be lucky to have this student" (Appendix C). High scores on each scale reflected stronger agreement with the given statement. Scores were averaged across the six items to compute the overall liking score for each participant ($\alpha = .90$).

The overall competence of the student was assessed across four items, "How intelligent is this student", "How competent is this student", "How competitive is this student", and "How impressive is this student". Higher scores on each scale reflected stronger agreement with the given statement. Scores were averaged across the four items to compute the overall competence score for each participant ($\alpha = .89$).

Participants' recommendations about whether the applicant should receive a scholarship and financial aid were used as additional indices of how much they wanted the applicant to be admitted into the participants' respective school. These questions were "How much scholarship would you give ____?" and "How much financial aid would ____ need?"

Participants' perceptions of the applicant's SES (1 = low class – 5 = upper class) was measured as a potential mediator between ethnicity and admittance. This question was "What is ____ SES?"

To maintain consistency with the ostensible purpose of the study, participants also rated the résumé design on the extent to which they liked the font, spacing, organization, formatting, and typography (Appendix C). After they completed those ratings, participants answered a manipulation check asking the ethnicity of the applicant. Then participants completed the 10-item Internal Motivation ($\alpha = .81$) and External Motivation ($\alpha = .82$) to Respond without Prejudice Scale (Plant & Devine, 1998) to assess whether each source of motivation to control prejudice predicts admission decisions (Appendix D). Participants indicated their level of agreement with each item on a scale that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Items were reverse coded when necessary such that high scores on each scale reflected higher levels of that type of motivation

Study 1 Results

Thirty-four percent of participants chose to be an admission evaluator for Harvard University, 13.7% for Yale University, 11.3% for University of Pennsylvania, 9% each

for Princeton University and Columbia University, 8.5% each for Cornell University and Dartmouth University, and 6.1% for Brown University.

A series of one-way ANOVA's revealed a significant condition effect for decision to admit, liking, competence, and SES (see Figure 1; Table 1). Post hoc tests were conducted using Fisher's LSD to identify significant effects between applicants of different ethnicities. Overall, participants who evaluated the Black American native applicant or the Black African applicant were more likely to admit them than those who evaluated the White American applicant (see Figure 1). Similarly, the Black African applicant and Black American native applicant were better liked, perceived as more competent, and were perceived as having a lower SES than the White applicant (see Table 1 for *F*s, *M*s, *SD*s and, η^2). However, applicant ethnicity had no significant effects on recommendations for scholarship or financial aid. Furthermore, although evaluations of the Black African applicant generally were higher than those of the Black American native applicant, these differences were not significantly different.

Moderation Analysis.

Two 2-step hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine whether there was an interaction between applicant ethnicity, internal motivation, and external motivation to control prejudice on decisions about admitting the applicants. In one of these regression analyses, an applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black African versus White applicant; in the other analysis, the applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black American versus White American. For both analyses, the White American was designated as the reference group. Both internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice were mean

centered prior to analysis. All potential 2-way and 3-way interaction terms were calculated with the mean centered variables for these analyses.

In each regression analysis, one of the applicant comparison effect coded variables, internal motivation, and external motivation were entered into the first step of the regression model. In the second step, all possible two-way interactions and the three way interaction between applicant ethnicity comparison, internal motivation, and external motivation were entered.

For the Black African versus White comparison, results showed that in the first step, the regression model significantly predicted the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3,208) = 4.77, p < .01, R^2 = .06$, accounting for 6.4% of the variance (see Table 2). The addition of the interaction terms in the second step of the regression did not produce a significant increase in variance explained, $F(4,204) = 1.54, p = .19, R^2 = .09, \Delta R^2 = .03$ (see Table 2).

The same analysis was conducted for the Black American versus White American comparison. At step one, the regression model significantly predicted the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3,208) = 4.60, p < .01, R^2 = .06$, and accounted for 6.2% of the variation (see Table 3). In the second step, the interaction terms explained an additional 10.50% of the variation in decision to admit, $F(4,204) = 2.46, p = .05, R^2 = .11, \Delta R^2 = .04$ (see Table 3). Specifically, results revealed a significant 3-way interaction between comparison group, internal motivation, and external motivation to respond without prejudice (see Table 3).

Simple slopes were computed to decompose the interaction (see Figure 2). Results revealed that participants low in internal motivation and high in external motivation were

significantly different from all of the other combinations of internal and external motivation. Participants who were high in internal motivation and low in external motivation, ($\beta = .35, p = .09$) were significantly different than participants low in internal motivation and high in external motivation, ($\beta = -.22, p = .25$), $t(204) = 2.12, p = .04$. There was also a significant difference between participants high in both internal and external motivation, ($\beta = .59, p = .01$) and those who were low in internal and high in external motivation, $t(204) = 2.75, p < .01$. Lastly, there was a significant difference between participants who were low in both internal and external motivation, ($\beta = .36, p = .10$), and participants low in internal and high in external motivation, $t(204) = -1.95, p = .05$ (see Figure 2).

Overall, participants admitted the Black applicant more often than the White applicant, except those who were low in internal motivation and high in external motivation (see Figure 2).

Mediation Analysis.

It is possible that the applicants' ethnicity led participants to make inferences about their SES, which may explain their recommendations about admitting them. To explore this possibility, mediation analysis with bootstrapped confidence intervals was conducted using Hayes's categorical procedure (Hayes, 2012).

Results revealed that for the Black African versus White comparison and the Black American native versus White comparison, SES did not significantly mediate decisions about admission evaluations of liking or competency, or the amount of financial aid offered. Table 4 presents the estimates for the indirect effect of applicant ethnicity on evaluations of the applicants.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 examined the role of prejudice as a possible explanation for the overrepresentation of Black Africans and the under-representation of Black American natives in selective higher education institutions. Results revealed that applicant ethnicity had a significant effect on decisions to admit, liking, competence and perceived SES. Both the Black African and the Black American native applicant received significantly more positive ratings than the White applicant on decisions about admitting the applicant, liking, and competence. Although the Black African applicant received more favorable ratings than the Black American native applicant, these differences were not significant.

One interesting aspect of the results of Study 1 is that participants perceived the White applicant as having a higher SES than either applicant of color. However, the Black American native was also perceived to be of a lower SES than the Black African applicant. Interestingly, despite the perception of greater financial need this did not mediate recommendations about providing the applicant with a scholarship or financial aid. This demonstrates incongruence between participant perceptions of the quality of the applicants and willingness to provide them with the means to actually accept an offer of admission.

The finding that the White applicant was judged as less competent, likable and was less likely to be offered admission than either applicant of color was surprising. One explanation for this is that participants may have found the resumés for the Black American native and Black African to be stronger than expected, which inflated their evaluations of the applicants' credentials. This explanation is consistent with the shifting standard model (Biernat, Nelson, Manis, 1991), which proposes that perceivers make

evaluations about members of social groups on a stereotype-relevant dimension by comparing them to a within-group standard. For example, Black American natives are stereotyped as being poor in academics. Consequently, when participants received a resumé of a highly credentialed Black American applicant, it exceeded their expectations for a Black American applicant. Because White American applicants are stereotyped as strong in academics, a strongly credentialed resumé may be perceived as less exceptional when the applicant was White.

Another possible explanation for the more favorable evaluations of the Black African and Black American is the role of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. Specifically, the Black American native applicant was more likely to be admitted into the school than the White American applicant when participants were high in internal motivation but low in external motivation. This is consistent with the findings of Devine and colleagues (2002) in which participants who were high in internal motivation and low in external motivation were the most non-prejudiced people. Participants who are high in internal reasoning and low in external reasoning to respond without prejudice have rejected prejudice at the conscious and unconscious (implicit) level. Consistent with the literature, the source of one's motivation appears to be more important than the amount of motivation. High internal, low external participants have evolved through a sequence of phases to weaken or completely disassociate prejudicial associations and become a truly unprejudiced person. As a result, the Black American native applicant was more likely to be admitted compared to the White American applicant. Participants who were largely externally motivated (e.g., low internal motivation, high external motivation) are not expected to control their bias since bias

regulation is only likely to appear when these participants are under the scrutiny of others. This may explain why low internal motivation, high external motivation participants were the only participants who were more likely to admit the White American versus the Black American.

Study 1 provided evidence that partially supported my hypothesis. Although the White American was not most likely to be admitted, the data trends support a more favorable evaluation and higher admission of the Black African over the Black American native, although this result was not statistically significant.

In study 1, each participant rated only a single applicant leaving no opportunity for them to cover for their possible prejudice in the Black American condition. Study 2 directly tested the opportunity to cover by asking participants to decide between the same target Black American native applicant when his competitor is a similarly qualified Black African, Black American native, or White applicant.

Study 2

Study 2 investigated whether participants were more likely to negatively evaluate a target Black American applicant when a Black African competitor provides a cover for prejudice against native Blacks.

Method

Participants

I recruited participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Goodman et al., 2013) for the ostensible purpose of evaluating resumé design. I aimed to recruit a total sample size of 250 to ensure the design has enough statistical power to detect a medium sized (Cohen's $d = .25$) effect when employing the traditional $\alpha = .05$

criterion of statistical significance. Participants were compensated \$0.75 upon study completion.

One hundred and seventy-four participants identified as White American, 23 as Asian, 18 as Black American, 15 as Hispanic, 5 as other, and 2 as Native American. Since the focus of the analysis was on the target Black American native applicant, participants who identified as Black American were excluded from analysis. Twenty-three participants failed the manipulation check which asked the ethnicity of the applicant (same used as Study 1) leaving a total of 209 participants (92 males, 116 females). Approximately 41% of participants were between the ages of 25 to 34 years, 25.8% were between the ages of 35 to 44 years, 12.9% were between the ages of 15 to 24 years, 12.9% were between the ages of 45 to 54 years, 6.2% were between the ages of 55 to 64 years, and 1.4% were 65 years and over. Most participants had earned a 4-year college degree or more (57.5%) with 41% having a career in management and professional service.

Design

Participants evaluated the application of a Black native college applicant associated with a standard resumé. In a between subjects design, this target applicant was evaluated along with a Black African competitor, another Black native competitor, or a White competitor. By varying the ethnicity of the competing applicant, I investigated whether decisions about admitting the Black target versus the Black African applicant were consistent with the covering hypothesis. Thus, this study was a 3 (competitor applicant: Black American native, Black African, or White American) X 2 (standard

Black native applicant versus competitor applicant) design with the second factor treated as a repeated measure.

Materials

Applicant first and last names, essay excerpt, and resumés were identical to Study 1 (Appendix A). First and last name pairs and resumé type were counterbalanced for each condition. Essay excerpts were also counterbalanced when the Black American native applicant was competing against another Black American native. Participants always viewed the competitor first followed by the target Black American native applicant.

Procedure

In an online experiment, participants were prompted to read and sign informed consent. Participants were told they are participating in an experiment about perceptions of resumé design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions and read:

*Please imagine yourself as an application evaluator for an Ivy League university in the United States. You will first view two candidates who we have already decided will be admitted in our upcoming year. Please take a look. It is your job to review two more applicants and decide which **one** should be admitted into our school. You are encouraged to use your knowledge and expertise in the field to make these decisions. Please select the name of the Ivy League university you are an evaluator for.*

After selecting their elite school, participants were first prompted to view two applicant resumés of two students who had already been accepted (both White American). Participants then viewed the essay excerpt and application resumé for two students who were being considered for admission; the target Black American native and

a Black African, White American or Black American native (depending on condition). After thoroughly reviewing the application, participants rated both the target Black American and the competitor and then decided which **one** they would admit. Then participants were given a question designed as a manipulation check that asked the ethnicity of the applicant. Participants were also asked to rate the design of the resumé (e.g., font, spacing). Finally, a series of questions examined the Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice Scale (Plant & Devine, 1998) as well as demographic information.

Measures.

All measures to assess resumé design, evaluations, and motivation to respond without prejudice were the same as those used in Study 1. The main dependent variable was the decision to admit the target Black American native applicant or the competitor. Evaluations of liking and, competence were used as potential justifications for the participant decision to admit the applicant. Decisions to offer scholarship and financial aid were used as indicators of how willing participants are to facilitate the applicant's ability to accept the offer of admission.

Participant's evaluations of liking and competence were assessed with the same items from Study 1 for both the target Black American native applicant and the competitor. High scores on each scale reflected stronger agreement with the given statement. Scores were averaged across items to compute an overall liking and competence score for both the target Black American native and the competitor. Reliability analysis was conducted for scores of liking and competence and yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .91 for ratings of target Black applicant liking, and .90 for rating of

his competence. Cronbach's alpha for ratings of the competitor applicant were .90 for liking, and .88 for competence.

Study 2 Results

Approximately 25% of participants chose to be an admission evaluator for Harvard University, 18.7% for Yale University, 15.3% for Princeton University, 13.9% for Columbia University, 10.5% for Cornell University, 7.7% for Brown University, 6.2% for University of Pennsylvania, and 2.9% for Dartmouth University.

I conducted a preliminary univariate ANOVA to examine if the participants' own race had an effect on whether they admitted the Black American target or his competitor. Results revealed that the main effect of participant ethnicity was not significant, $F(4,193) = .87, p = .48$, and the interaction between experimental condition and participant race also was not significant, $F(6,193) = .46, p = .84$.

Two logistic regression analyses were conducted to examine whether the ethnicity of the competitor affected participants' decisions about admitting the target Black applicant rather than his competitor. Ethnicity of the competitor was dummy coded such that 1 indicated the White competitor in both analyses and 0 indicated the Black African competitor in one analysis and the Black competitor in the second analysis. In other words, the first dummy coded variable examines how the odds of admission for a native Black target are affected by competition against a Black African versus a White competitor, and the second dummy coded variable examines how these odds are affected by competition with another Black American native versus a White competitor. In both analyses, the decision to admit the competitor was coded as 0 and the decision to admit the target Black American native was coded as 1 (see Figure 3). Thus, means

approaching 1 indicate that the Black American target applicant was admitted over his competitor, and means approaching 0 indicate a preference for the competitor.

For the White competitor versus the Black African competitor, the overall model was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 6.20, p = .01$, indicating that competitor ethnicity affected admission of the target Black American native. The overall model explained between 4.6% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 6.2% (Nagelkerke R Squared) of the variance in admission decisions and correctly classified 60.8% of cases. The target Black American native was 2.4 times more likely ($\beta = .88, p = .01$) to be admitted when competing against a White American versus a Black African competitor.

Results of the logistic regression that compared the odds of the Black American target being admitted when competing against another Black American native versus a White competitor indicated that the overall model was not significant, $\chi^2(1) = 1.29, p = .26$. The model explained between .9% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 1.3% (Nagelkerke R Squared) of the variance in admission decisions and correctly classified 56.9% of cases. Although the target Black American native was 1.5 times as likely to be admitted when competing against a White American versus another Black American native competitor, this effect was not significant, $\beta = .40, p = .26$.

Z-scores were computed to compare the proportion of participants who chose the Black native target versus his competitor in each competitor ethnicity condition. These results showed that participants chose the Black African competitor significantly more often than the Black native target, $z = -2.21, p = .03$. Furthermore, results showed that participants chose the target Black American native significantly more than they chose the White American competitor, $z = 2.72, p = .01$. Participants did not choose the Black

American native competitor significantly more than the target Black American native, $z = 0.65$, $p = .52$.

Participants' evaluations of liking for the applicants, perceived competence, recommendations about receiving scholarship and financial aid, and SES were analyzed with 3 (competitor applicant: Black American native, Black African, or White American) X 2 (standard Black native applicant versus competitor applicant) analysis of variance with the second factor treated as a repeated measures. Simple effects were conducted to probe all interactions.

As seen in Table 5, the results revealed no effect for judgments about liking and competence (all F 's < 1 , $ps > .05$).

For SES, there was a significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 196) = 3.42$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .03$, and a significant within subjects effect of competitor versus target, $F(1, 196) = 8.11$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between competitor ethnicity and whether participants were evaluating the competitor or the native Black target, $F(2, 196) = 7.42$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Simple effects tests indicated that the White American competitor was perceived as having a significantly higher SES than the Black competitor, Black African competitor and Black target (see Table 5 for, M s, and SE s).

For ratings of financial aid, there was no significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 202) = .75$, $p = .48$, $\eta^2 = .00$. The within subjects competitor versus target factor produced a significant main effect, $F(1, 202) = 10.06$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$. There was a significant interaction between competitor ethnicity and who was being rated (competitor versus target), $F(2, 202) = 6.09$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$. As can be seen in

Table 5, the White competitor received significantly less financial aid than the Black African competitor, but he did not receive less aid than the Black native competitor. The target Black American received significantly more financial aid than his competitor when his competitor was White American, but not when his competitor was a Black American native or Black African.

For ratings of scholarship, there was no significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 206) = .70, p = .50, \eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant within subjects main effect, $F(1, 206) = 3.99, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$. This was qualified by a significant competitor ethnicity by target versus competitor interaction, $F(2, 206) = 4.31, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$. The White competitor was offered less scholarship money than the Black native competitor, but not less than the Black African competitor. The target Black American received significantly more scholarship than his competitor when his competitor was a White American, but not when the competitor was another Black American native or a Black African (see Table 5 for *Ms*, and *SEs*).

Mediation Analysis.

Mediation analyses were conducted using Haye's (2014) categorical procedures to examine if SES played a role in the relationship between competitor ethnicity and admittance decision. Applicant ethnicity was dummy coded into two comparisons with the White American competitor coded as 0 for the reference group. The first comparison was Black African competitor versus White competitor, and the second comparison was a Black American native competitor versus White competitor. For each comparison, one mediation analysis was conducted using target SES as the mediator and a second analysis used competitor SES as a mediator.

For the Black African competitor versus the White competitor, neither the target Black American native's SES, $\beta = .00$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI [-.03, .04], nor the competitor's SES, $\beta = .00$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI [-.08, .06] mediated the effect of ethnicity on admission decision.

For the Black American native competitor versus the White competitor, neither the target Black American native's SES, $\beta = .00$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI [-.11, .00], nor the competitor's SES, $\beta = .10$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI [-.10, .08] mediated the effect of ethnicity on admission decision.

Moderation Analysis.

Two 2-step hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine whether internal motivation and external motivation to control prejudice moderated the effects of competitor ethnicity on decisions about admitting the Black native target applicant versus his competitor. In one of these regression analyses, an applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black African versus White American competitor conditions, and in the other analysis the applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black American native competitor versus White American competitor conditions. For both analyses, the White American was designated as the reference group. Both internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice were mean centered prior to analysis. All 2-way interaction terms and the 3-way applicant ethnicity comparison x internal motivation x external motivation interaction term were calculated with the mean centered variables for these analyses.

In each regression analysis, one of the applicant comparison effect coded variables, internal motivation, and external motivation were entered into the first step of the regression model. In the second step, all possible two-way interactions and the three way interaction between applicant ethnicity comparison, internal motivation, and external motivation were entered.

Results for the regression comparing the Black African versus White American conditions, revealed that step 1 significantly predicted the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3, 202) = 3.24, p = .02, R^2 = .05$. In the second step, the interaction terms did not significantly explain additional variance in decision to admit, $F(4, 198) = 1.09, p = .35, \Delta R^2 = .02$ (see Table 6).

The same analysis was conducted for the Black American native versus White American comparison. Results showed that the step 1 regression model did not significantly predict the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3, 202) = 1.50, p = .22, R^2 = .02$. The addition of the interaction terms in the second step of the regression also did not produce a significant increase in variance explained, $F(4, 198) = 1.7, p = .13, \Delta R^2 = .02$.

Study 2 Discussion

Overall, the results of Study 2 partially supported my hypothesis. As hypothesized, the Black American native target was least likely to be accepted when his competitor was a Black African applicant. As shown in the logistic regression, the target Black American was 2.4 times more likely to be admitted when in competition against a White American versus a Black African. Furthermore, the target Black American native received significantly more financial aid and more scholarship when competing against the White American who was perceived as having a high SES. Although the White

American was perceived as having the highest SES, these perceptions did not mediate the effects of competitor ethnicity on decisions about admissions.

Applicant resumés were counterbalanced such that any differences should have been directly related to the participant's ethnicity. In addition, the participants perceived no differences in qualifications as exemplified by their judgments about applicant competence or their liking for the applicants between or within conditions. Furthermore, target SES and competitor SES did not mediate the effect of competitor ethnicity and decision to admit the target Black American native. This suggests that prejudice, or unconscious bias toward Black American natives, may be at play given that there are no significant differences between perceived qualities of the applicants.

Collectively, these findings support the covering hypothesis. When the target Black American native applicant is competing against the White American applicant there is no opportunity for participants to hide their prejudice. However, when the target Black American native applicant is competing against the Black African competitor, the Black African provides a cover for prejudice and as a result it somewhat decreases the chances of the target Black American native being admitted.

Furthermore, my initial analysis revealed that participant's race had no effect on admittance of the Black American native applicant. Thus, these findings suggest that the prejudice toward Black American natives are held by not only White Americans, but rather by all non-Black Americans. Since the sample did not include Blacks, it is unknown at this point whether they would share in the anti-Black bias.

This study provides evidence that Black Africans and Black American natives may be admitted into Ivy League institutions differently, and that Black Africans may be

used to cover prejudice against Black American natives. To understand the boundary effects of ethnic covering, Study 3 examines whether covering for prejudice against Black American natives occurs even when people are explicitly reminded of the importance of Affirmative Action policies.

Study 3

Study 3 aimed to test the boundaries of when covering occurs. More specifically, I examined if covering persists when participants are exposed to a message about Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action policies aim to increase representation of underrepresented groups in domains historically dominated by White men. Thus, testing whether covering occurs when people are explicitly focused on underrepresented minorities provides a particularly rigorous test of the covering hypothesis.

Method

Participants

I recruited participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Goodman et al., 2013) for the ostensible purpose of evaluating resumé design. Similarly to Study 2, a total sample size of 250 was recruited to ensure the design has enough statistical power for detecting a medium sized (Cohens' $d = .25$) effect for the $\alpha = .05$ criterion of statistical significance. Participants received \$0.75 for compensation.

Participants who identified as Black American or who failed the manipulation check (the same check that was used in Study 1) were excluded from analyses leaving a total of 234 participants (99 males, 133 females, 2 did not indicate). One hundred and ninety one participants identified as White American, 26 as Asian, 12 as Hispanic and 5 as other. Approximately 48% of participants were between the ages of 25 to 34 years,

17.9% were between the ages of 35 to 44 years, 16.2% were between the ages of 15 to 24 years, 11.1% were between the ages of 45 to 54 years, 4.3% were between the ages of 55 to 64 years, and 2.6% were 65 years and over. Around 27% of participants worked in management and professional service with 61% of participants had a Bachelor's degree or more.

Design

The same design as Study 2 was implemented. Thus, there was a 3 (competitor applicant: Black American native, Black African, or White American) X 2 (standard Black native applicant versus competitor applicant) analysis of variance with the second factor treated as a repeated measure.

Procedure

Participants followed the same procedures as those in Study 2 except the participant also read:

Please keep in mind we are supporters of Affirmative Action policies which aim to increase the proportion of African-Americans, women, and other minorities in jobs and educational institutions historically dominated by White men.

Measures.

The measures used to assess resumé design, applicant evaluations, and motivation to respond without prejudice were the same as those used in Study 1. Similarly to Study 2, reliability analyses were conducted for scores of liking and competence and yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .93 for ratings of target Black applicant liking, and .92 for rating of his competence. Cronbach's alpha for ratings of the competitor applicant were .89 for liking, and .87 competence.

Study 3 Results

Approximately 27% of participants chose to be an admission evaluator for Harvard University, 15% for Yale University, 13.7% for Cornell University, 12% for Brown University, 9.4% for Princeton University, 8.1 % each for Columbia University and University of Pennsylvania, and 6.4% for Dartmouth University.

A preliminary univariate ANOVA revealed that participant race did not have a main effect on decision to admit the Black American target or his competitor, $F(6,262) = 5.31, p = .95$ and the interaction between experimental condition and participant race also was not significant, $F(8, 262) = 1.41, p = .19$.

Two logistic regression analyses were conducted to examine whether the ethnicity of the competitor affected participants' decisions about admitting the target Black applicant rather than his competitor. Ethnicity of the competitor was dummy coded such that 1 indicated the White competitor in both analyses and 0 indicated the Black African competitor in one analysis and the Black American native competitor in the second analysis. In other words, the first dummy coded variable examines how the odds of admission for a native Black target are affected by competition against a Black African versus a White competitor, and the second dummy coded variable examines how these odds are affected by competition with another Black American native versus a White competitor. In both analyses, the decision to admit the competitor was coded as 0 and the decision to admit the target Black American native was coded as 1 (see Figure 4). Thus, means approaching 1 indicate that the Black American target applicant was admitted over his competitor, and means approaching 0 indicate a preference for the competitor.

For the White competitor versus the Black African competitor, the overall model was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 20.65, p < .001$, indicating that competitor ethnicity affected admission of the target Black American native. The overall model explained between 13.6% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 18.3% (Nagelkerke R Squared) of the variance in admission decisions and correctly classified 67.4% of cases. The target Black American native was 5.3 times more likely ($\beta = 1.66, p < .001$) to be admitted when competing against a White American versus a Black African competitor.

Results of the logistic regression that compared the odds of the Black American target being admitted when competing against another Black American native versus a White competitor indicated that the overall model was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 14.206, p < .001$. The model explained between 9.0% (Cox and Snell R Square) and 12.2% (Nagelkerke R Squared) of the variance in admission decisions and correctly classified 62.4% of cases. The target Black American natives was 3.9 times as likely to be admitted when competing against a White American versus another Black American native competitor, $\beta = 1.35, p < .001$.

Z-scores were computed to compare the proportion of participants who chose the Black native target versus his competitor in each competitor ethnicity condition. These results showed that participants chose the Black African competitor significantly more often than the Black native target, $z = -2.50, p = .01$. Furthermore, results showed that participants chose the target Black American native significantly more often than they chose the White American competitor, $z = 6.08, p < .001$. Participants did not choose the Black American native competitor significantly more often than the target Black American, $z = -0.60, p = .55$.

Participants' evaluations of liking for the applicants, perceived competence, recommendations about receiving scholarship and financial aid, and SES were analyzed with 3 (competitor applicant: Black American native, Black African, or White American) X 2 (standard Black native applicant versus competitor applicant) analysis of variance with the second factor treated as a repeated measures. Simple effects were conducted to probe all interactions.

For evaluations of liking, there was no significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 231) = 1.24$, $p = .29$, $\eta^2 = .01$. There was no significant within subjects effect between competitor and target, $F(1, 231) = 2.51$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant interaction between liking and condition, $F(2, 231) = 6.75$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$. The Black African competitor and the target Black American was better liked than the White competitor (Table 7 for, *Ms*, and *SEs*).

For evaluations of competence, there was no significant between subjects effect of ethnicity, $F(2, 231) = .07$, $p = .94$, $\eta^2 = .00$. There was no significant within subjects effect between competitor and target, $F(1, 231) = .69$, $p = .41$, $\eta^2 = .00$. There also was no interaction between competence and condition, $F(2, 231) = 1.60$, $p = .20$, $\eta^2 = .01$ (Table 7 for, *Ms*, and *SEs*).

Similar to Study 2, for SES there was a significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 222) = 5.15$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$ and significant within subjects effect between competitor and target, $F(1, 222) = 17.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(2, 222) = 8.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. The White American competitor was perceived as having a significantly higher SES than the Black competitor, Black African competitor and Black American native target.

Furthermore, the Black African competitor was perceived as having a significantly higher SES than the Black American native competitor (see Table 7 for, *Ms*, and *SEs*).

For ratings of financial aid, there was no significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 202) = .68, p = .50, \eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant within subjects effect between competitor and target, $F(1, 224) = 11.13, p = .001, \eta^2 = .05$, such that the target Black American native was offered significantly more financial aid than the White competitor. This was qualified by a significant interaction between financial aid and condition, $F(2, 224) = 9.28, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ (Table 7 for, *Ms*, and *SEs*). The White competitor received significantly less financial aid than the Black African competitor and Black American competitor. However, the target Black American received significantly more financial aid when competing against the White American competitor.

For ratings of scholarship, there was no significant between subjects effect of competitor ethnicity, $F(2, 231) = 2.17, p = .12, \eta^2 = .02$, however, there was a significant within subjects effect between competitor and target, $F(1, 231) = 5.57, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$. This was qualified by a significant interaction between competitor ethnicity and whether the competitor or the target was being evaluated, $F(2, 231) = 15.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$ (Table 7 for, *Ms*, and *SEs*). The White competitor received significantly less scholarship than the Black African competitor and Black American competitor. However, the target Black American received significantly more scholarship than the White competitor. There was no difference between the Black African competitor, Black American native competitor and Black American native target.

Moderation Analysis.

Two 2-step hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine whether internal motivation and external motivation to control prejudice moderated the effects of competitor ethnicity on decisions about admitting the Black native target applicant versus his competitor. In one regression analysis, an applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black African versus White American competitor conditions; in the other analysis, the applicant ethnicity comparison was effect coded to compare the Black American competitor versus White American competitor conditions. For both analyses, the White American was designated as the reference group. Both internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice were mean centered prior to analysis. All 2-way interaction terms and the 3- way applicant ethnicity comparison x internal motivation x external motivation interaction term were calculated with the mean centered variables for these analyses.

In each regression analysis, one of the applicant comparison effect coded variables, internal motivation and external motivation were entered into the first step of the regression analysis. In the second step, all possible two-way interactions and the three way interaction between applicant ethnicity comparison, internal motivation, and external motivation were entered.

Results for the regression comparing the Black African versus White American conditions, revealed that the step 1 significantly predicted the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3, 227) = 8.17, p < .001, R^2 = .10$. In the second step, the interaction terms did not significantly explain additional variance in decision to admit, $F(3, 224) = .75, p = .46, \Delta R^2 = .01$ (see Table 8).

The same analysis was conducted for the Black American native versus White American comparison. Results showed that at step 1, the regression model did not significantly predict the decision to admit the applicant, $F(3, 227) = 4.71, p = .003, R^2 = .06$. The addition of the interaction terms in the second step of the regression produced a significant increase in variance explained, $F(4, 223) = 2.62, p = .05, R^2 = .09, \Delta R^2 = .03$. Specifically, results revealed a significant 2-way interaction between competitor ethnicity comparison group and internal motivation to respond without prejudice (see Table 9).

Simple slopes were conducted to decompose the interaction. Results revealed that participants who were high in internal motivation were significantly more likely to admit the target Black American native applicant when competing against a White American ($\beta_{\text{logit}} = -.86, p = .01$) than those who were low in internal motivation ($\beta_{\text{logit}} = .07, p = .18$) when reminded of Affirmative Action (see Figure 5).

Mediation Analysis.

Mediation analyses were conducted using Haye's (2014) categorical procedures to examine if SES plays a role in the relationship between competitor ethnicity and admittance decision. Applicant ethnicity was dummy coded into two comparisons with the White American competitor condition coded as 0 for the reference group. The first comparison was the Black African competitor versus White competitor, and the second comparison was a Black American native competitor versus White competitor. For each comparison, one mediation analysis was conducted using target SES as the mediator; and a second analysis used competitor SES as a mediator.

For the Black African competitor versus the White competitor, competitor SES did not mediate the relationship between competitor ethnicity and admittance decision, β

= - .03, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [- .31, .14] (see Figure 6). Perceptions of the target Black American native's SES did not mediate the relationship between competitor ethnicity and admittance decision, $\beta = - .03$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI [-.26, .09] (see Figure 6).

Results revealed that for the Black American native competitor versus the White competitor, competitor SES did not significantly mediate the relationship between competitor ethnicity and the decision about who to admit, $\beta = -.04$, $SE = .14$, 95% CI [- .33, .25] (see Figure 7). Perceptions of target SES also did not mediate the relationship between competitor ethnicity and the decision about who to admit, $\beta = .03$, $SE = .09$, 95% CI [-.11, .23] (see Figure 7).

Study 3 Discussion

Similar to the findings of Study 2, the target Black American native applicant was least likely to be admitted when competing against a Black African applicant. Although competing against a Black African did not significantly depress the odds that the Black native target applicant would be admitted, the Black target had a greater chance of being admitted if his competitor was White. The target Black American native was 5.2 times more likely to be admitted when competing against a White American and was offered significantly more financial aid and scholarship than when the target Black American was competing against a Black African.

Unlike Study 2, the Black African competitor was liked significantly more than the White competitor. In addition, the Black target was liked significantly more when competing against the White American than the Black African competitor. Lastly, the target Black American native was more likely to be admitted when the participant was high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

Study 3 extends the findings of Study 2 by demonstrating a context in which the pressure to cover exists. The exposure to the Affirmative Action statement created explicit external pressure or motivation for participants to admit a student without prejudice. Research has shown that attempts to suppress prejudice work temporarily, but eventually the prejudice will rebound back into consciousness (Crandall et al., 2003). These finding suggests that instead of suppressing prejudice, participants may have found a way to release their prejudice while still satisfying the requirements of Affirmative Action.

Overall Discussion

Across three studies, the current research provides evidence that prejudice may partly explain the underrepresentation of Black American natives and overrepresentation of Black Africans in higher education. Consistently across all three studies, the target Black American was most likely to be admitted when competing against a White American versus a Black African.

Admission officers may be able to maintain an egalitarian image by accepting a Black African versus a Black American native. However, when the Black American is competing against a White American, participants may be hesitant to choose the White American because there is no opportunity for them to cover for their biased actions. These findings suggest that covering may be at play during the admission process at Ivy League institutions which perpetuates the imbalance of Black Americans in higher education.

Similar to Study 1, an alternative explanation for the current findings is shifting standards. It is possible that the standard of credentials for admission into an Ivy League

institution are different for a Black American native, White American, and Black African applicant based on stereotype-relevant information. Since both White Americans and Black African are positively stereotyped as academically proficient, the standard of credentials may be higher than the standard for the target Black American who is stereotyped as being academically weak. Thus, when participants received the highly credentialed Black American native applicant, the participants may have viewed the applicant as highly qualified relative to others in his own ethnic group, which led to greater admittance. On the other hand, when participants received the highly credentialed White American applicant, the participants may have viewed the applicant as standard relative to other White Americans, which in turn makes the applicant look less favorable.

However, this explanation is inconsistent with my findings because the Black African competitor was consistently (although not significantly) more likely to be admitted than the Black American target. If the Black African competitor had similar standards for credentials as the White competitor, then when participants received the Black African competitor they would not perceive him as highly qualified relative to others in his own ethnic group. Rather, the Black African would have been perceived as standard compared to other Black Africans, which in turn would make the target Black American more favorable. However, this was not the case.

In Study 1, in which participants evaluated a candidate of each ethnicity without a direct explicit comparison to another candidate, participants had more positive evaluations of the competence and likability of the Black African and Black American native applicant than the White candidate. Competence and likability may have been used as justifications as to why both the Black African and Black had a greater likelihood of

admittance than the White American. Although this finding was not found in Study 2, Study 3 revealed a significant interaction showing that the Black African competitor and Black target were better liked than the White competitor. This finding may be a consequence of the Affirmative Action policy, which encourages selection of highly qualified minorities. Since the White competitor is not a minority, when reminded of Affirmative Action, participants may rate the White competitor low in likeability so that their actions are in line with Affirmative Action. This suggests that evaluations of liking may be influenced by outside factors. This also suggests that situational factors are key to understanding admission decisions.

Both Study 2 and Study 3 revealed that the target Black American native was most likely to be admitted when competing against a White American versus a Black African. However, the strength of the effect was stronger in Study 3 ($\eta = .09$) than in Study 2 ($\eta = .03$) demonstrating a context in which the acceptance of Black natives is enhanced.

However, in Studies 2 and 3, there was no significant difference of competence between or within conditions. Although participants were perceived as equally competent, the Black American native had a significantly greater chance of admittance when the competitor was White American. This is expected as there is no opportunity for the participant to cover for their prejudice. However, when the Black American native is competing against the Black African, the equally competent Black American native is consistently less likely to be admitted than when competing against a White American. In addition to competence, liking also was not significantly different between or within

conditions for Study 2. Since justifications of competence are similar, this erases rational explanations and leaves prejudice as a possible explanation.

A consistent finding across all three studies was the inference of SES from ethnicity. The White American was perceived to have the highest SES across all studies. Furthermore, in Study 1, both the Black African and Black American native were perceived as more likely to be admitted and to be of lower SES. In Studies 2 and 3, the White American competitor was perceived as having a significantly higher SES than the Black American native competitor, Black African competitor and Black American native target. However, competitor SES and target Black native SES did not mediate the effect between competitor ethnicity and admission decision.

Interestingly, in Study 1, participants indicated that the Black African and Black American native needed more monetary support than the White American. However, there were no significant differences in the amount of financial aid or scholarship offered across the applicants. Nonetheless, in Studies 2 and 3 where participants made a direct comparison between two candidates, there were significant interactions for both financial aid and scholarship. This would suggest that decisions of financial aid and scholarship are a function of comparison to other applicants. Monetary offers may be an indicator of how much more favorable the applicants are compared to their competitor.

Internal motivation and external motivation to respond without prejudice played a moderating role in the decision to admit in Studies 1 and 3. For Study 1, participants who were high in internal motivation but low in external motivation were more likely to admit the Black American versus the White American applicant. This is consistent with the abundance of literature that suggests high internal low external motivation are the most

unprejudiced persons. Additionally, in Study 3, participants who were high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to choose the target Black American when competing against the White American versus the Black American native competitor. This finding is consistent with previous literature that high internally motivated people are associated with less bias for Black Americans as measured by the IAT. Since this finding was not found in Study 2, this would suggest that a reminder of Affirmative Action policies somehow affects how internal motivation affects the decision to admit the target Black American native. Affirmative Action policy may increase internal motivation to respond without prejudice, which may encourage admittance of the Black American native rather than the White American competitor- a historically overrepresented group.

The current results contribute to the extant literature deepening our understanding of ethnicity- a critical factor in diversity within and outside the Black community. Race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably in the United States in regards to Black Americans. However, race which is a social construct (e.g., Blacks) is different than ethnicity which is associated with culture (e.g., Black American culture versus African culture) (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978)). Research looking at ethnicity- arguably a core part of the self, is not as common as research investigating race differences in experimental psychological research. The current research provides evidence of the importance of ethnicity and how it may be a better predictor of educational outcomes than race. Similar to the way light-skinned Black and dark-skinned Blacks are perceived differently (Maddox, 2004), Black Americans and Black Africans may be perceived differently. The current results would suggest that Black Africans are

perceived more favorably in college/university admissions than the Black American native. This provides preliminary evidence that Black Africans and Black American natives are subtypes of Blacks that are encoded differently in regards to education.

In the current study, both the Black African and Black American native were of American nationality. However, the expression of cultural identity (e.g., name, family) were different for each. Specifically, expressions of an African cultural identity may be more advantageous in the admissions process than a Black American identity. The Census Bureau estimates that by 2025, 46% of all youth between ages 15-19 will be of a minority/immigrant group. The increasing diversity of America requires psychologists to look beyond phenotypic race at a more inclusive indicator such as ethnicity.

Limitations

It is important to mention some limitations of the present set of studies. First, I used an online participant pool rather than actual admissions officers at elite educational institutions. It is possible that people who actually work in college/ university admissions may respond differently to applicant qualifications, and ethnicity. However, in all three studies, the majority of participants were employed in management and professional services with a bachelor's degree or more. Thus, the participants may be a closer representation of the actual population of admission officers than an undergraduate population.

Second, in the real world, an undergraduate application consists of multiple documents, including recommendation letters, grade transcripts, and language proficiency data, among others. However, in the current study, judgements of the applicants were based only on a resumé and personal statement excerpt. Letters of

recommendation represented an important missing piece of the application that commonly accompany application materials. The absence of recommendation letters allowed the participants to draw their own conclusions based on the qualifications rather than being guided by another person's viewpoint. This feature of the present research may have reduced the social pressure to avoid displaying prejudice for those exhibiting high external motivation.

Lastly, the current study only used males (male names) as applicants. This was a consequence of participants having trouble inferring the correct gender for stereotypically Black African names in the pilot study. Thus, caution should be used in interpreting the implications of these findings as they are only applicable to the evaluation of males.

Future Directions

Looking forward, I see a number of interesting and potentially important directions for future research. As discussed, the present research focused on documenting the effects of how a target Black American native applicant would fare when applying to selective institutions. However, future research ought to consider other ethnic groups such as Latinos or East Asians. Furthermore, it is also unknown if the differences observed in admission offers based on competitor ethnicity is equally as likely at less selective institutions such as state schools or community colleges.

Moreover, it would be useful to explore other contexts in which competitor ethnicity may have an effect, such as the occupational domain. It would be of interest to explore if these effects are present in jobs in Science, Technology, Engineering, Math (STEM), retail, or athletics. In addition, it would be prudent to examine the potential moderating effect of gender.

Lastly, many critiques of research lament the scarcity of field research. Future research should aim to replicate this study in a field experiments in which applications are actually sent to schools or employers to examine if there is a difference in response rate.

In conclusion, the present studies provided empirical evidence that Black American natives may have better outcomes in the admission process of Ivy League institutions when they compete against White Americans than when they compete against Black Africans. Given that the nation is growing to be a majority first-second generation minority setting, this creates bleak prospects for the future of Black American natives applying to elite colleges and universities.

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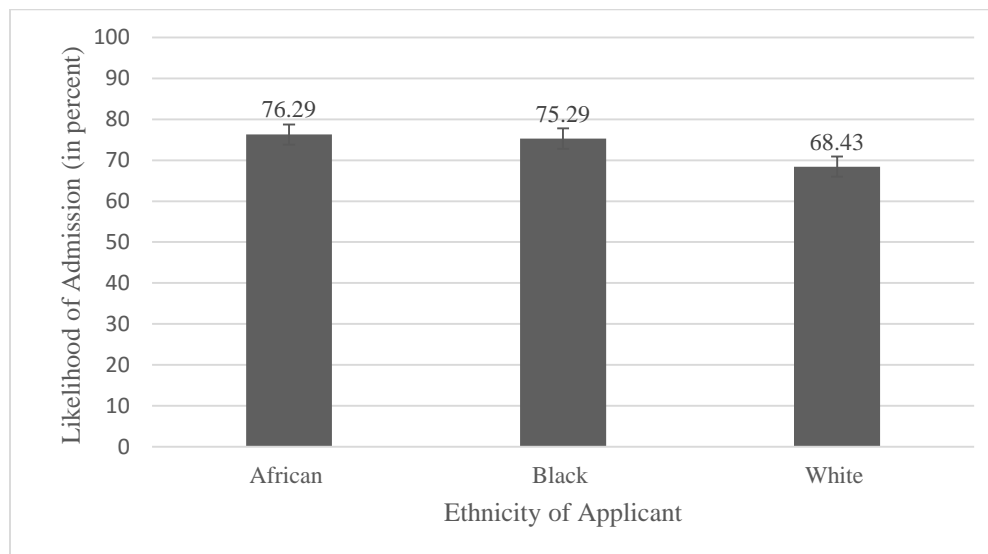


Figure 1. Study 1: Likelihood of admission for each ethnicity.

Table 1. Study 1: *Effect of Applicant Ethnicity on Evaluations of the Applicant*

Rating of Applicant	Applicant Ethnicity			F(2,209)	Effect Size
	African	Black	White		
Decision to Admit	5.34 _a (1.19)	5.27 _a (1.38)	4.79 _b (1.54)	3.35*	.03
Liking	5.72 _a (.77)	5.69 _a (.96)	5.20 _b (.96)	7.34**	.07
Competence	6.09 _a (.81)	6.08 _a (.83)	5.76 _b (.83)	3.75*	.04
SES	2.98 _a (.67)	2.93 _a (.79)	3.31 _b (.84)	5.03**	.05
Financial Aid	48.48 _a (28.47)	51.13 _a (22.83)	46.01 _a (23.04)	.79	.01
Scholarship	3.39 _a (1.09)	3.47 _a (1.22)	3.09 _a (1.26)	1.98	.02

Note. Means (*SD*) of each ethnicity. Means with different subscripts are significantly different from each other. Effect sizes are partial eta square.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 2. Study 1: *Results for the Moderating Effect of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on Decision to Admit the African vs. White Applicant*

Variable	B	β	SE	t
Step 1				
African vs. White	.25	.14	.12	2.1*
Internal Motivation	.12	.12	.07	1.74
External Motivation	-.11	-.14	.06	-2.03*
Step 2				
African vs. White	.28	.16	.12	2.37*
Internal Motivation	.15	.14	.08	2.00*
External Motivation	-.13	-.16	.06	-2.62*
Internal x External	.01	.02	.04	.31
African vs. White x Internal	.06	.04	.09	.63

African vs. White x External	-.07	-.07	.07	-.93
African vs. White x Internal x External	.11	.16	.05	2.23*

Note. $N=212$. Internal motivation and external motivation were centered prior to analysis.

* $p < .05$

Table 3. Study 1: *Results for the Moderating Effect of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on Decision to Admit the Black vs. White Applicant*

Variable	B	β	SE	t
Step 1				
Black vs. White	.23	.14	.11	2.01*
Internal Motivation	.14	.13	.07	1.94*
External Motivation	-.11	-.14	.06	-1.99*
Step 2				
Black vs. White	.27	.16	.11	2.43*
Internal Motivation	.14	.14	.08	2.02*
External Motivation	-.10	-.12	.06	-1.74
Internal x External	-.02	-.03	.04	-.40
Black vs. White x Internal	.15	.13	.08	1.91

Black vs. White x External	-.05	-.05	.06	-.75
Black vs. White x Internal x External	.09	.15	.04	2.21*

Notes. $N = 212$. Internal motivation and external motivation were centered prior to analysis.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

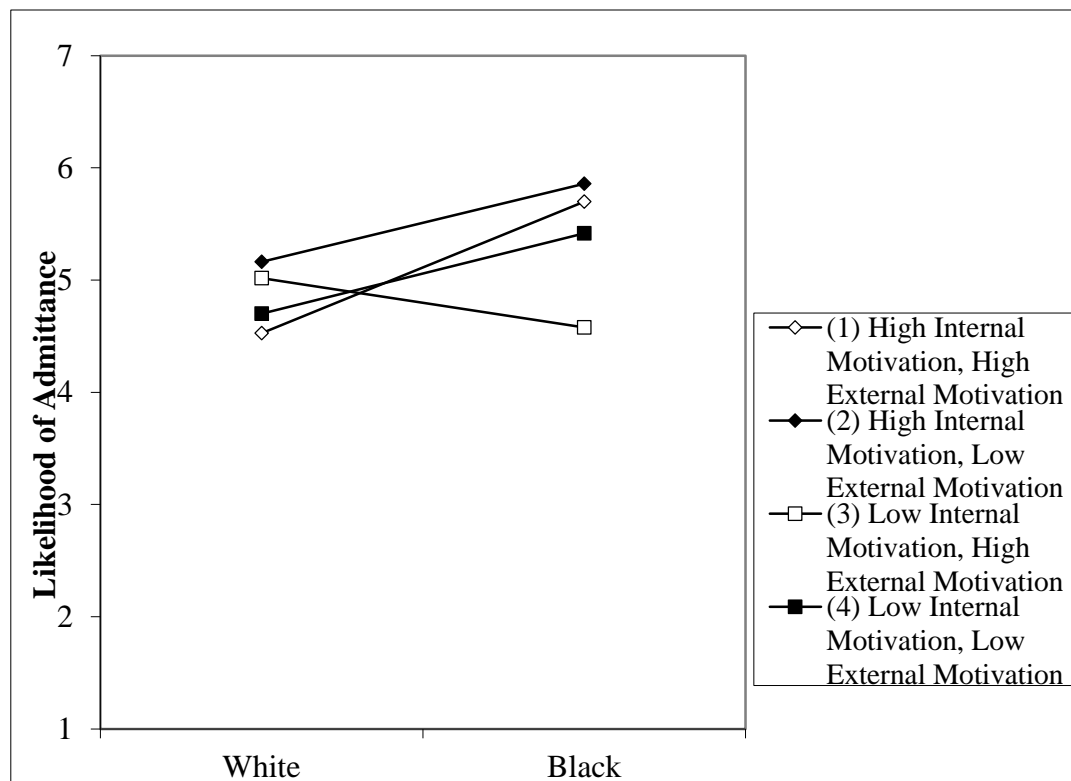


Figure 2. Study 1: Moderating effect of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice on decisions about admitting a Black vs. White applicant.

Table 4. Study 1: *Betas from regression model examining whether SES mediates the relationship of applicant ethnicity on evaluations of the applicant*

	African vs. White	Black vs. White
Likelihood of Admission	-.02 [-.09, .01]	-.03 [-.13, .00]
Liking	-.02 [-.06, .00]	-.02 [-.08, .00]
Competence	-.02 [-.06, .01]	-.03 [-.08, .00]
Financial Aid	.34 [-.19, 1.42]	.60 [-.03, 2.11]
Scholarship	-.01 [-.07, .01]	-.02 [-.09, .00]

Note. Numbers in brackets are the 95% confidence intervals for the betas of the indirect effects.

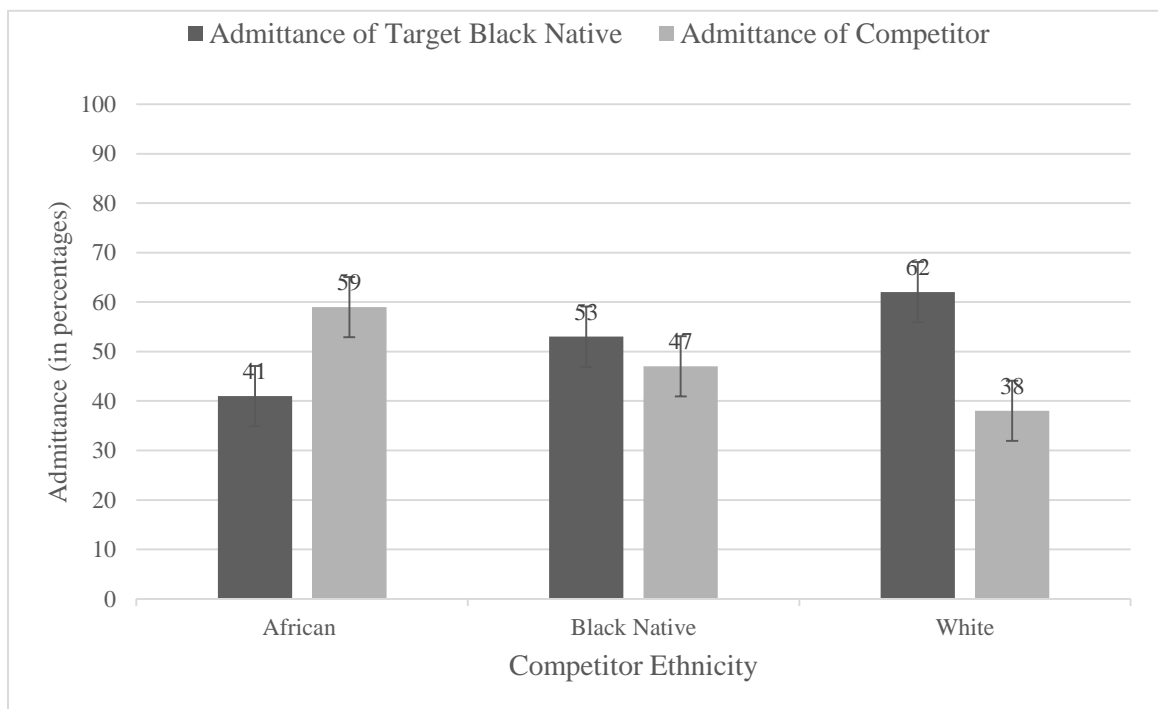


Figure 3. Study 2: Decision to admit the target Black American native target or his competitor by competitor ethnicity.

Table 5. Study 2: *Mean evaluation of the target and competitor applicants by competitor ethnicity*

	Competitor Ethnicity		
	African	Black	White
Liking			
Black Target	5.73 _a (.12)	5.85 _a (.11)	5.69 _a (.13)
Competitor	5.90 _a (.11)	5.68 _a (.12)	5.73 _a (.12)
Competence			
Black Target	6.22 _a (.10)	6.18 _a (.10)	6.23 _a (.10)
Competitor	6.16 _a (.10)	6.15 _a (.09)	6.17 _a (.10)
SES			
Black Target	2.62 _a (.09)	2.65 _a (.09)	2.61 _a (.10)
Competitor	2.67 _a (.09)	2.61 _a (.08)	3.15 _b (.10)
Financial Aid			

Black Target	52.71 _a (3.10)	50.51 _a (2.99)	52.52 _a (3.19)
Competitor	52.22 _a (3.0)	49.34 _{ab} (2.89)	42.41 _b (3.09)
Scholarship			
Black Target	3.25 _a (1.06)	3.42 _a (.96)	3.48 _a (1.07)
Competitor	3.28 _{ab} (1.03)	3.41 _a (.97)	3.06 _b (.89)

Note. Means (*SE*) of each ethnicity. Means with different subscripts are significantly different from each other. $p < .05$

Table 6. Study 2. *Results for the Moderating Effect of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on Decision to Admit the Target Black American Native or his African vs. White competitor*

Variable	B	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1				
African vs. White	-.11	-.17	.04	-2.48*
Internal Motivation	.05	.13	.03	1.83
External Motivation	.01	.02	.02	.35
Step 2				
African vs. White	-.10	-.15	.04	-2.17*
Internal Motivation	.05	.13	.03	2.02*
External Motivation	.00	.00	.02	.01
Internal x External	.02	.08	.02	1.09

African vs. White x Internal	-.04	-.08	.03	-1.17
African vs. White x External	-.00	-.01	.03	-.13
African vs. White x Internal x External	.02	.09	.02	1.22

Note. $N = 212$. Internal motivation and external motivation were centered prior to analysis.

* $p < .05$

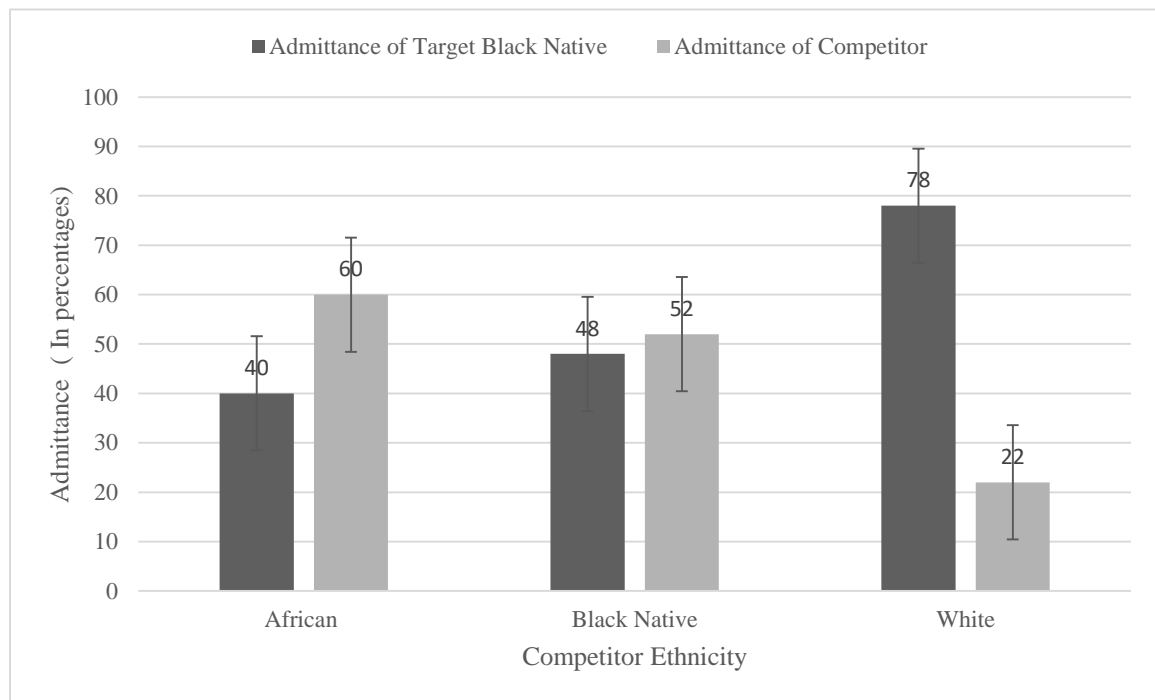


Figure 4. Study 3: The decision to admit the target Black American native target or his competitor by competitor ethnicity.

Table 7. Study 3: *Effect of Applicant Ethnicity on Evaluations of the Applicant*

	Applicant Ethnicity		
	African	Black	White
Liking			
Black Target	5.41 _a (.11)	5.59 _a (.10)	5.50 _a (.13)
Competitor	5.57 _a (.09)	5.51 _a (.09)	5.17 _b (.11)
Competence			
Black Target	5.82 _a (.10)	5.88 _a (.09)	5.90 _a (.11)
Competitor	5.99 _a (.11)	5.93 _a (.10)	5.82 _a (.12)
SES			
Black Target	2.68 _a (.73)	2.53 _b (.90)	2.58 _d (.11)
Competitor	2.82 _a (.67)	2.53 _b (.80)	3.20 _c (.10)

Financial Aid			
	51.81 _a (2.93)	49.76 _a (2.76)	52.20 _a (3.39)
Black Target			
	50.87 _a (2.90)	50.35 _a (2.73)	40.86 _b (3.36)
Competitor			
Scholarship			
Black Target	3.16 _a (.12)	3.20 _c (.11)	3.23 _b (.13)
Competitor	3.32 _a (.11)	3.23 _a (.11)	2.65 _d (.13)

Note. Means (*SE*) of each ethnicity. Means with different subscripts are significantly different from each other.* $p < .05$

Table 8. Study 3: *Results for the Moderating Effect of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on Decision to Admit the Target Black American Native or his African vs. White competitor*

Variable	B	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1				
African vs. White	-.18	-.28	.04	-4.48**
Internal Motivation	.04	.13	.02	1.96*
External Motivation	-.01	-.04	.02	-.56
Step 2				
African vs. White	-.18	-.28	.04	-4.40**
Internal Motivation	.05	.14	.02	2.17*
External Motivation	-.01	-.03	.02	-.51
Internal x External	-.02	-.08	.01	-.1.22

African vs. White x Internal	-.04	-.09	.03	-1.36
African vs. White x External	-.01	-.02	.03	-.29
African vs. White x Internal x External	.01	.05	.02	.70

Notes. $N = 212$. Internal motivation and external motivation were centered prior to analysis.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 9. Study 3: *Results for the Moderating Effect of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on Decision to Admit the Target Black American Native or his Black vs. White competitor*

Variable	B	β	SE	t
Step 1				
Black vs. White	-.13	-.20	.04	-3.14*
Internal Motivation	.04	.11	.02	1.75
External Motivation	-.00	-.01	.02	-.20*
Step 2				
Black vs. White	-.14	-.22	.04	-3.32**
Internal Motivation	.05	.15	.02	2.22*
External Motivation	-.02	-.05	.02	-.75
Internal x External	-.01	-.04	.01	-.61

Black vs. White x Internal	-.07	-.15	.03	2.31*
Black vs. White x External	.01	.03	.03	.50
Black vs. White x Internal x External	-.01	-.06	.02	-.88

Notes. $N = 212$. Internal motivation and external motivation were centered prior to analysis.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

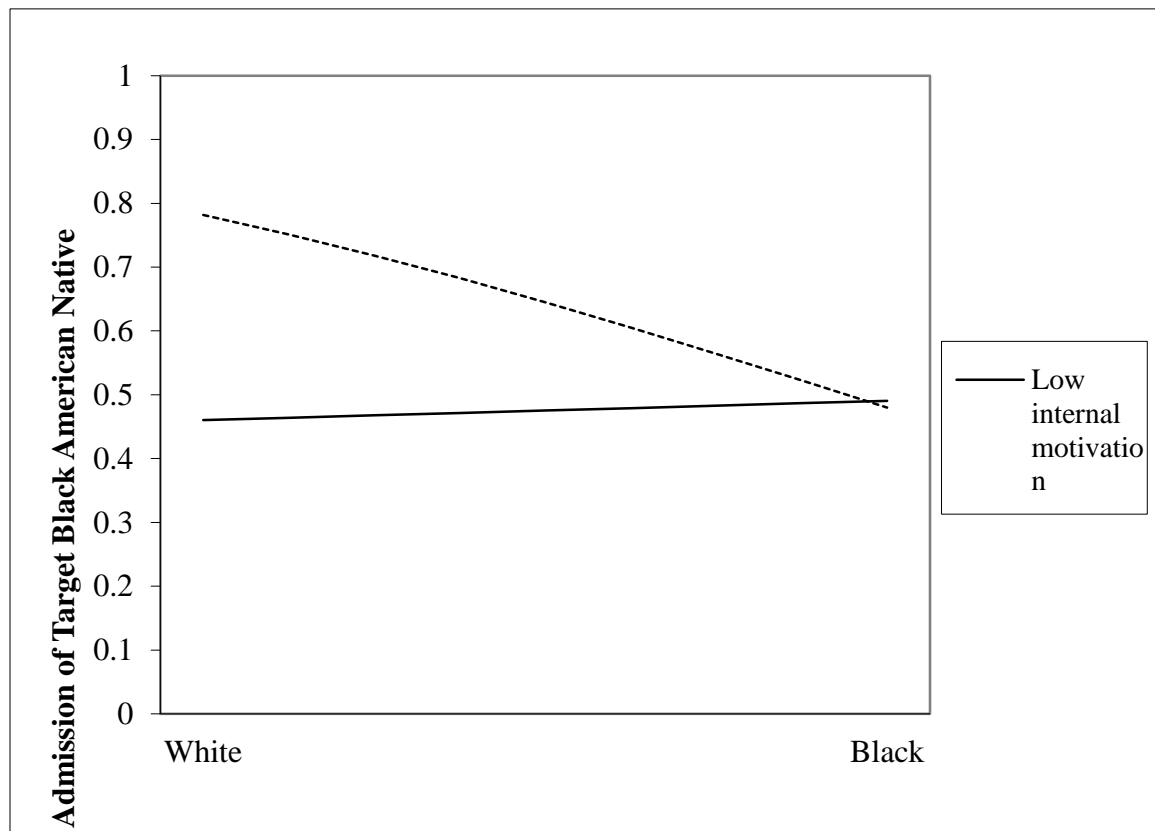


Figure 5. Study 3: Moderating effect of internal motivation to control prejudice on the decision to admit the native black target when his competitor is White vs. Black.

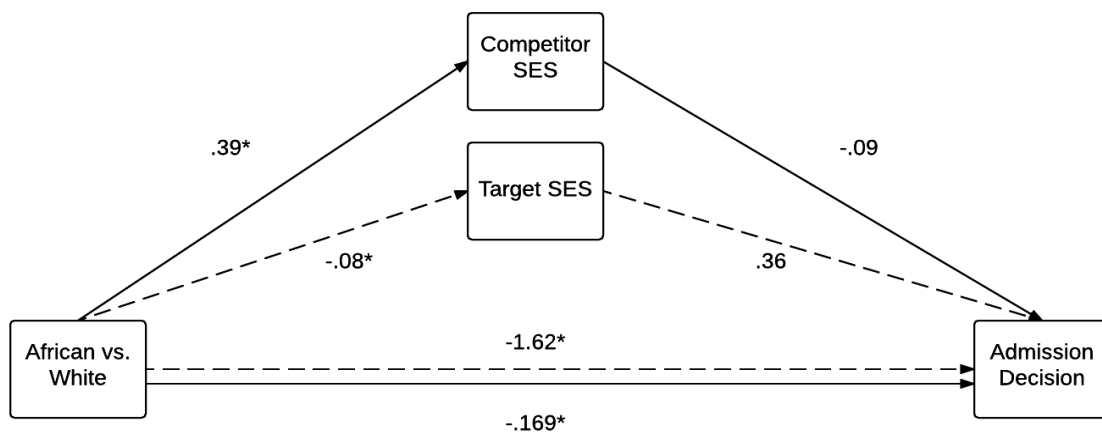


Figure 6. Study 3: Mediating effect of SES on the decision to admit the native Black target when his competitor is African vs. White. * $p < .05$

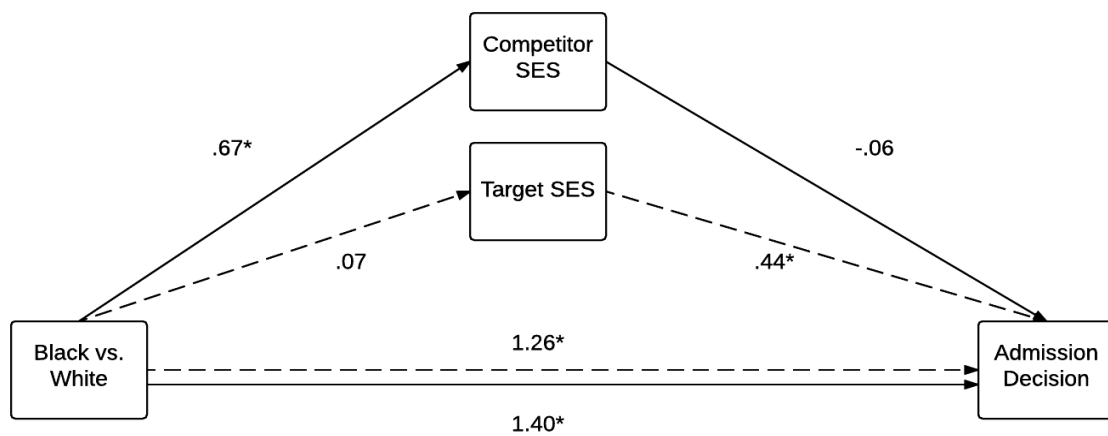


Figure 7. Study 3: Mediating effect of SES on the decision to admit the native Black target when his competitor is Black vs. White. * $p < .05$

Appendix A

PROMPT:

Discuss an accomplishment, interest, or talent, formal or informal that marked your transition from childhood to adulthood within your culture, community, or family”

Black African Essay Excerpt:

When I was 16 years old, I received the greatest gift of all; family. My parents had informed me that my grandparents from the West African country of Nigeria, were coming to visit. I was excited to finally meet them and soon learned they were too, as I was greeted with a huge hug. As soon as she settled, my grandmother began to prepare traditional Nigerian cuisine such as jollof rice and fufu, which is a family favorite. My grandfather began to share old pictures of my parents before they immigrated to America.

Black American native Essay Excerpt:

It was not until I was assigned a project on the Harlem Renaissance, that my father revealed how my great grandfather was a Harlem legend. My great grandfather’s style and movement took people by storm, including myself. I use his music and other contemporaries as lessons in leadership. The most important task of a leader is to create harmony between each member of the group, which reveals the group’s maximum potential. The work of the Harlem Renaissance has shaped my family, my character and without it, my life would not be half as wonderful as it is today.

Resilience was the lesson my cousin and I learned that summer in Harlem. The city was saturated with inner city youth whose worries ranged from their grades in class to the next meal they were going to eat. However, their determination to succeed past every obstacle showed me the rewarding joy of surmounting tough challenges. My father taught

me this as he was once one of the many inner city kids of Harlem. I strive to reflect this in everything I do and everyone I meet.

White American Essay Excerpt:

In kindergarten, I was the only kid who knew milk didn't originate in the supermarket. This I attribute to my time in Fairmount, Nebraska, a farm that has been ran by my family since 1908. For the past 13 years my family has made the pilgrimage to Fairmount, to spend the second week of August at the farm. Only at Fairmount Farm can I husk corn at 5 p.m. to find it steaming on the dinner table at 6:30. Nowhere else do 13-year-old boys agree to square dance with their mothers or take their grandmothers as their date.

Appendix B

Name

1657 Forest Ave, Staten Island, NY 10303
Mobile: (917) 555-1864 Email: @gmail.com

Education

Curtis High School, Staten Island, NY- Class of 2015

GPA: 3.9 SAT: **Math**-745/800 **Writing**-697/800
Critical Reasoning – 645/800

Advanced Placement Courses:

- Chemistry
- World History

Skills/Certification

- Microsoft Word Photoshop
- Microsoft Excel Life Guard

Honors/Awards/Affiliations

- Passion for Action Award - 2015
- National Honors Society- 2012
- Ambassador for New York State Health Summit- 2012
- Academic High Honor Roll- 2011-2015
- Volunteer of the Year Award-2014
- National S.T.E.M Scholar Finalist- 2013
- Perfect Attendance Award- 2011-2015

Extracurricular Activities

- President of Student Council- 2014-2015
- President of Curtis High School Debate Team- 2013-2015
- Co-Captain of Swim Team- 2012-2014

Volunteer Experience

- Geriatric Aid at Staten Island University Hospital- 2011- present
- Clothing Drive Volunteer-2014
- Walk to End Lupus- 2014
- Breast Cancer Walk Team Captain- 2013
- Swim for Multiple Sclerosis – 2012-present
- Food Drive for Thanksgiving-2012
- Team up to Clean Up Community Beautification -2011

Work Experience

- Staten Island Children's Museum (2013-2015)
- Swim Instructor, Faber Park Community Pool Staten Island, NY (2012-2014)

Name

[@gmail.com](#)

357 Mill Plain Rd, Union, NJ 06614 / Cell: 203-555- 1864

EDUCATION

High School Diploma: Graduation Date- June 2015 from Union High School, Union, NJ

GPA: 3.8 SAT: Critical Reasoning – 653 /800 Math-747/800 Writing- 688/800

AP Courses Completed: Human Geography, Biology

Honors and Awards

- Academic Honor Roll (2011-2015)
- Perfect Attendance Award (2011-2015)
- National Honors Society (2012)
- Representative for National Youth Leadership Forum on Medicine (2013)
- John's Hopkin's Talented Youth (2013)
- Outstanding Community Service Award (2014)

Extracurricular Activities

- Vice President of Student Council (2014-2015)
- Yearbook Editor (2014-2015)
- Captain: Varsity Soccer Team (2013-2014)
- Mathlete President (2012-present)
- Chamber Orchestra (Cello) (2011-present)

Community service

- Relay for Life Organizer (2011-Present)
- Coordinator for Big Brother/Big Sister Afterschool (2011-present)
- Red Cross Volunteer (2012- present)
- March of Dimes (2013)

- Meals on Wheels (2012)
- Autism Awareness Walk (2011)

Employment

- Soccer Referee, YMCA Union NJ (2011-2014)
- Elementary School Tutor (2012-2013)

ADDITIONAL TRAINING: Red Cross CPR Certification, Certified Peer Mediator of NJ, Certified Soccer Referee

Computer Skills: Proficient in Microsoft Word, PowerPoint, Adobe Illustrator, Excel

Appendix C

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about the students resumé. Please select the response that best represents the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Strongly Agree

Student name is in an adequate font size

The resumé font is legible

The resumé font is too small

The resumé font is too big

The resumé bullet points are distracting

There is too much white space on the resumé

The words look crowded on the page

The headings are easy to understand

The heading formatting (e.g., bold, italic) is helpful

There is proper use of capitalizations

Punctuation is properly used

Numbers, averages and scores are present

Student name is in an appropriate font style

Student name is clearly visible
I like years of completion formatting
I like how this resumé was formatted
I like how this resumé is organized
Overall I would rate the design of the resumé

This student will be easy to get along with?
How likable is this student?
How unique is this student?
This student is a good “fit” for the university?
This student would be a valuable asset to the university?
We would be lucky to have this student?
How intelligent is this student?
How competitive is this student?
How competent is this student?
How impressive is this student?
How much scholarship would you offer this student?
How much financial aid would you offer this student?
What is this students SES?
What is this students projected GPA?
What is this students projected major?
What organizations would this student be a part of?
How likely are you to admit this student into your school?
What ethnicity is this student?

Appendix D

EMS External motivation items

Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people.

I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others. If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.

I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.

I try to act nonprejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.

IMS Internal motivation items

I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.

According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK. (R)

I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward Black people.

Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.

Being nonprejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

Note. (R) indicates reverse coded item. Participants rated 10 items on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

